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CONTENTS. EDITORIALS.	PAGI
The Milan Peace Congress—The Berlin Conference of the International Law Association—The Second Hague Conference.	
EDITORIAL NOTES	213-21
The International Peace Bureau—Canada's Good Fortune—Peace Sunday—The Salon for Peace.	
Brevities	21
GENERAL ARTICLES:	
Notes on the Peace Congress	214-21
Address of Senator Ponti, Mayor of Milan at the Opening of the Fifteenth International Peace Congress	
Address of E.T. Moneta, President of the Committee on Organization of the Opening of the Milan Peace Congress	217-219
Annual Report of the Secretary of the International Peace Bureau on the Events of the Year	220-22
Proceedings of the Fifteenth International Peace Congress	221-226
Appeal of the Fifteenth Peace Congress to the Nations Extension of the Scope of Arbitration Treaties and of the Juris-	226-22
diction of the Hague Court. Address of Sir Thomas Barclay	227 228
PAMPHLETS RECEIVED	
International Arbitration and Peace Lecture Bureau	229

#### The Milan Peace Congress.

The Fifteenth International Peace Congress, held at Milan, Italy, from the 13th to the 22d of September, was on the whole a very successful and encouraging meeting. It labored under the usual difficulty of the peace congresses, that arising from the difference of language and of deliberative methods, and the still greater difficulty occasioned by the dominating influence of an International Exposition. Because of the latter, the local impression made by the Congress on the people generally was probably much less than it would otherwise have been. The Congress had to share with three or four others going on at the same time the space devoted to congresses in the papers, and the Exposition drew and held the attention of the average citizen.

But in spite of these untoward circumstances, the success of the meeting was excellent. The city authorities could hardly have been more cordial and attentive than they were. It was generally understood that they regarded the Peace Congress as of supreme importance among the many international gatherings — nearly a hundred in all — brought by the Exposition to the city. As for the local Committee on Organization, led by our distinguished and venerable co-worker, E. T. Moneta, nothing could have surpassed their fidelity, self-

sacrifice and laborious efforts to make the Congress a great agency for advancing the peace cause.

The Congress was not as large as those of the previous two years at Boston and Lucerne. But it was unusually strong in the presence of nearly all of the veteran peace leaders of the different countries - Passy, Baroness von Suttner, Ducommun, Bajer, Richter, Darby, Miss Robinson, Mrs. Lockwood, Moneta, General Türr, Dr. Clark, Fox, Perris, Fried, Dr. Richet, Arnaud, La Fontaine, Abbé Pichot, Alexander, Moscheles, Novicow, Trueblood and others. It was therefore an unusually compact and coherent body, whose members understood one another and were able to work together in harmony and mutual confidence, even where they differed strongly in opinion. Indeed, so far as we remember, never has a finer spirit prevailed in any peace congress. The moral tone was high, and the work was done in a serious, courageous spirit, conscious of the grandeur of its aim as well as of the difficulty and the delicacy of the task.

The Congress also surpassed some previous ones in the concentration of its attention upon the great Less time was wasted subjects of the peace cause. on relatively unimportant matters. There was almost no faddism. Some of the great subjects received, of course, less consideration than would have been desirable, but this was not from lack of interest, but solely from lack of time. On these subjects, however, the Congress felt as deeply and spoke as strongly as if it had had days in which to discuss This was particularly true of the subject of limitation of armaments, the resolutions on which did not come up till toward the end of the proceedings, when there was little time for discussion. But no other subject was as omnipresent to the minds of the delegates as this, and every reference to the initiative taken by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and the British House of Commons to bring the subject to the next Hague Conference drew forth the deep and intense feeling of the Congress in regard to it.

The discussions in general impressed us as being abler than usual. There was an unusual seriousness about them, an entire absence of playing fast and loose with subjects. We have never heard in any peace congress—and rarely elsewhere—a finer debate than that on the neutralization of ocean trade routes, introduced in an excellent speech by Senator Chamberlain of Brockton, Mass., from the

Committee on International Law subjects. The opposition, led by Senator La Fontaine of Belgium, one of the most gifted men in the Peace Movement, and supported by many of the French and English delegates, held that the proposal was an attempt to regulate war, which was not the business of a peace congress, and that the neutralization of these routes would probably diminish rather than increase the interest of commercial men and statesmen in the cause of peace. To this, able replies were made, among others, by Professor Quidde of Germany, who argued that what was aimed at was not a regulation but a limitation of war, and by J. G. Alexander of England, who declared that the neutralization of these routes would take away the main excuse of Great Britain for keeping up her big navy. The Chamberlain proposition was finally carried by a vote of nearly two to one, taken amid the greatest tension of interest.

The debate on sanctions of arbitration, on which the Peace Congress has always been divided in opinion, was also very able. The proposition for the institution of such sanctions was reported from committee by Dr. Dumas, a very able French jurist, and supported by most of the French and a number of other delegates. Dr. Darby, secretary of the British Peace Society, led the opposition, which was supported in general by the British and American delegates. He proved, we think, conclusively that the history of arbitration shows that arbitral awards need no sanctions, not even of a purely pacific kind, if such are possible. But Dr. Dumas' resolution was adopted by a very small majority, and the Peace Congress went on record for the first time as favoring pacific sanctions of arbitration. The resolution on this subject will be found on another page, with the other resolutions voted by the Congress.

The session devoted to the relations of labor to the Peace Movement was a very interesting one. So was that in which the educational aspects of the movement were discussed. The Armenian and Congo atrocities, and those committed against weaker races everywhere, called forth emphatic protests in the name of justice and right, on which so largely, the Congress feels, the hope of permanent peace rests. Franco-German and Anglo-German relations, in their present somewhat improved and more hopeful condition, aroused deep interest, and so did all phases of the question of the Hague Court, the coming Hague Conference, etc.

It being impossible, within our limited space, to give any full report of the daily debates, we have published in another part of this issue the text, in English, of all the important resolutions adopted, and have tried to gather up in a series of notes on the Congress the significance of the social occurrences and other events connected with the week's proceedings.

The influence of the Congress locally, might we think, have been much increased by a series of public meetings in different parts of the city, by means of which the ideas and practical aims of the peace workers might have been brought home to a larger number of the toiling masses. One such meeting was held, and addressed by a number of the leading delegates. It was very successful and useful. The difficulty, however, of finding places for meeting, because of the crowded condition of the city and the other congresses going on, made it impracticable, in the judgment of the Organizing Committee, to do more in this direction. We hope that the Congress at Munich next year, and all future ones, will see to it that this part of the program is made large and full. One of the chief functions of the Peace Congress, at the present stage of its life and work, is the education of the communities which it visits from year to year.

The Congress, we are sure, will prove a powerful stimulus to the Peace Movement, especially in southern and southeastern Europe, where the ideas which it upholds have already taken a wide and deep hold of the popular mind. It marks another and a most encouraging stage in the triumphant progress of the cause which already has reached such a position of strength and assurance as promises the early suppression, in a large measure if not entirely, of the "monstrous crime of war" and the organization of the nations in a federation of justice, goodwill, coöperation, mutual respect and peace, through which alone the national honor and the rights and welfare of the people can together be secured and maintained.

# The Berlin Conference of the International Law Association.

The twenty-third Conference of the International Law Association, held at Berlin, October 1 to 5, was in some respects the most important meeting which the Association has ever held. It was rendered so by the fact that it was held at Berlin under what was practically the immediate auspices of the German government. This was the first time that the Association had gone to Berlin; the first time, we believe, that any association whose avowed object, in part or in whole, is the promotion of better international relations, of arbitration and peace, has ever held a conference at the German capital, where congresses of a scientific character have been numerous. This fact, therefore, signifies very much as an evidence of the rapidily increasing friendliness of the nations and the growing disposition of the governments themselves to become coworkers with the friends of international justice and peace. The governments of the United States, of Great Britain, of France, of Italy, of Austria-Hungary and of Germany